

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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This has been a week of law, and, when the reader considers the full import of that awful word, he will not be surprized, that PEEPS and every thing else have been suspended for another week.

## RUMP CONSPIRACY.

### TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMIN- STER.

*On the Trial which took place in the Court of King's Bench on Tuesday last, before the Chief Justice, and a common jury; the subject of which trial being an action brought by Thomas Cleary against Mr. Cobbett.*

*London, Dec. 7, 1820.*

#### GENTLEMEN,

You and I are not only old acquaintances but old friends. Some of you have grown up to manhood since the commencement of our acquaintance; some of you know less of me than others do; but, as I think it probable that circumstances may render it useful, I shall here take the first step towards a renewal of your acquaintance.

For several years I have lamented that this great and public spirited city should, in a great measure, have been held in a species of bondage by a little knot of persons, whom I have, for a long time past, called the *Rump*, and whom I will not, upon the present occasion, more particularly characterise; because it is my intention to address you more at length in a short time, and in a manner by the resorting to which I hope to convey my sentiments to you *all*, and to obtain a rather particular attention to what I intend to address to you.

Men in general, and particularly Englishmen, love *fair play*. My sole object, at present, in addressing you is, to draw your attention to the conduct and character of the RUMP and of its *agents* and *associates*. Here has been a trial, recollect, gentlemen. Here we have, not only Mr. Brougham's attack and my de-

sence; but the *charge of a Chief Justice* and the *verdict of a Jury*.

Here is, above all things, evidence given on oath by two members of the *Rump*, and by *Wright* and *Jackson*, two of their agents and associates.

Now, Gentlemen, I have to beg you to *look well* at this evidence, as you will find it in the report of the trial. Read the evidence with attention, consider well who and what *Wright* and *Jackson* are. Look well at the evidence of *Adams* in particular; and then reflect that this *Adams* has, for many years, been one of this little knot of persons who have had the chief management of the political concerns of this great and important city.

Recollect, Gentlemen, that *Cleary* complains that, in consequence of my writings against him he has lost the confidence and even acquaintance of numerous persons who, before, thought well of him. He farther complains that divers persons have, in consequence of those writings, refused to have any transactions with him, and even to hold discourse with him. For reparation of which grievous injuries he prays for damages to the amount of two thousand pounds; and a jury of Westmin-

ster men; a jury of tradesmen, not one of whom did I ever before see in my life, to my knowledge, gave him FORTY SHILLINGS!

Bear in mind, too, gentlemen, that I put in no formal justification; that I called no witnesses; and that I had solely to rest upon the good sense and honesty of the worthy men who composed the jury.

As to the trial altogether, it will speak for itself; but suffer me to remark, because the remark is of great importance as to *public morals* and *public happiness*; that the Chief Justice, in his charge to the jury, while he reproved my having stigmatised *Cleary* as a forger, observed that it was impossible to believe that I could have given my consent to the publishing of the letter if I had been present in England, and that if I had confined myself to the charge of *breach of private confidence*, I should have been JUSTIFIED IN USING VERY STRONG TERMS OF REPROBATION. Now, remember, Gentlemen, that this decided opinion of his Lordship applies not only to *Cleary* and to *Wright*; but also to that of *Place*, *Adams*, and the whole of the *Rump*; and that



it is an opinion which ought to make *Adams* ashamed of himself to the end of his life. —Gentlemen, look at the evidence given by *Adams* upon oath; look at the opinion of the Chief Justice; look at the decision of your honest fellow-citizens the jury; and then reflect that this *Adams* has been one of a little group of men, who have been intermeddling in the great political affairs of Westminster; and not only intermeddling in them, but even managing them so far as to be the ostensible persons to declare who should be your representatives in Parliament, and who should not! I beseech you, gentlemen, soberly and candidly to consider these things; and if you do so consider them, I am satisfied that there will want nothing more to rescue this illustrious city from such a degrading political jurisdiction.

I cannot dismiss this letter without availing myself of the opportunity of expressing my best thanks to the gentlemen of the Bar, present in court at the time of the trial. Those gentlemen might be suspected of having no very friendly feeling to-

wards me; but I must say, and I say it with peculiar satisfaction, that, if I had been the brother of some of them, and the father of the rest, they could not have discovered, as far as I was able to judge from their countenances, greater interest in my behalf than they did. By hints conveyed along to my sons, who sat one on my right, the other on my left, they rendered me very great assistance, in the cross-examination of the witnesses, and also in the management of my defence. The truth is, they were Englishmen; and they very quickly saw how base and how foul a set of men I had to contend against. It is not in human nature to behold such conspiracies without horror. In the midst of this general feeling in my favour, there sat Mr. Brougham, a solitary exception! He had begun the day's work by representing me as a cruel, hard-hearted, unsparing, inveterate, and implacable man; and I am sorry to be compelled to believe, that he quitted the Court, boiling over with mortification under the conviction

of my having gained over to my side the hearts of all present except those of his client and his witnesses, and that of himself. He was *more than an advocate* in the case, he had not command enough of himself to forego this very improper opportunity of seeking for retaliation on another score; but I believe I may say that he found himself totally disappointed in the attainment of his object. When I saw him arrayed against me, I was ready to say, in the language of a warrior mentioned in the Scripture, "*Is it peace?*" He soon convinced me that it was not peace; and I hope that I convinced him that he is likely to gain nothing by a continuation of the war.

I am, Gentlemen, now, as

I always have been,

Your sincere,

And faithful Friend,

WM. COBBETT.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, DEC. 5.

SITTINGS AFTER TERM, BEFORE THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE, AT WESTMINSTER.

CLEARY V. COBBETT.

This case excited an unusual degree of interest, and the Court was excessively crowded at a very early hour. The defendant appeared in Court to conduct his own cause; and, after a short period passed in trying a question of no public interest, this case was called on.

Mr. CHITTY opened the pleadings. This was an action for libel. The declaration stated and was founded upon five several libels, and it was only necessary to direct their attention to the first count, which charged that the plaintiff composed and wrote a certain letter, reflecting upon the character of Mr. Henry Hunt, and read at the Westminster Election such letter, stating that it was Mr. Cobbett's, and that Mr. Cobbett charged him (the plaintiff) in his *Register*, with forging that letter. The other counts reflect upon the conduct of the plaintiff in this transaction. The defendant says that he is not liable, and the damages are laid at two thousand pounds.

Mr. BROUGHAM.—Gentlemen of the Jury—In opening the pleadings, my learned friend had occasion to tell you who it is that defends this action, and it is only necessary to name William Cobbett, in order to bring before you a person, who is, perhaps, the man of all others engaged as a writer in a daily or weekly paper, whose attack upon the



character of an individual is most to be dreaded; a man whose talents it is hardly possible to over-rate, except by saying, that great as they are, they are equalled by the zeal with which he has ever exercised them; and that zeal, great as it is, still less remarkable than the want of scrupulousness with which he has so zealously exercised those powers. But though the name is enough to tell you who defends this action, it is necessary that I should state to you who it is that brings it, and who that individual is against whom those talents have been thus zealously, so little scrupulously, and so unremittingly exerted. He is a gentleman comparatively little known to you, a native of the sister kingdom, a person of good family, filling the situation of a respectable practitioner in the law, and now a member of one of the Inns of Court, for the purpose of qualifying himself for a higher station. After residing for some time with us, and taking part in the political circumstances of the day, he occasionally exercised the right of his elective franchise as an elector of Westminster, zealously, I believe conscientiously, I am sure rightly, and never wrongfully with respect to any individual whatever. Mr. Cleary became connected in the band of political union with Major Cartwright, an individual with regard to whose opinions on such subjects no matter what sentiments were entertained, who was universally admitted to be a man of inflexible integrity, unimpeachable character, and undeviating

inconsistency. [Mr. Brougham was here interrupted by a very general laugh.] I beg Major Cartwright's pardon, I meant consistency; I had not the slightest intention of imputing to him what is certainly applicable to others, whose inconsistency is as remarkable as the Major's immutability. I was stating to you, Gentlemen, that Mr. Cleary became devoted to the opinions of Major Cartwright, and after an intimacy of some standing between them, during which he had enjoyed a large portion of that hospitality for which the Major is distinguished, it happened not unnaturally that Mr. Cleary should have been found the foremost in the ranks of his supporters. Accordingly, we find him one of the most active of the Major's friends at the Westminster Election. While in the discharge of his duty in a public capacity arose the discussion, out of which these publications proceeded. Another of the candidates was Mr. Hunt, and it pleased Mr. Hunt to attack Mr. Cleary in a way, in which he thought the largest latitude of discussion at contested elections could not justify. Mr. Hunt read a private letter, written to him in confidence by Mr. Cleary, intended for his eye alone, and having used it in this way.—Cleary read another letter in retaliation, purporting to be a letter from Mr. Cobbett, but which Mr. Cobbett now disowns. It will be hardly necessary for me to read this letter, as it will be read hereafter, and I shall only say that it was written as far

back as April, 1808. I certainly acknowledge that to me at least it is difficult to discover why Mr. Hunt should complain of Mr. Cleary's conduct, after the use which he had so unjustly made of a private letter of Mr. Cleary's; but why Mr. Cobbett should complain of this, against whom Mr. Cleary had said not one word, but on the contrary spoken of him as the stay and prop of their common cause, in terms not merely respectful but reverential, that Mr. Cobbett should turn round with vehemence, I will not call it ferocity, is not easily accounted for, at least, it would not be easily accounted for on any other mode of conducting an argument than that which those politicians so pertinaciously pursue. The letter which had been thus read by Mr. Cleary, undoubtedly represented Mr. Hunt to be a very different person from that gentleman, whom Mr. Cobbett was then, at a considerable distance in point of time I admit, in the habit of eulogising. But, why should Mr. Hunt, of all mankind, be rendered unmanageable by such treatment? Was this the only instance, and was he the only man whom Mr. Cobbett had violently abused, and as speedily afterwards lavishly praised? It was not, you will recollect, Gentlemen, the retraction of a single year, or a single month, or a single day on the part of Mr. Cobbett, and all who are in the habit of ministering to their own pleasure by the perusal of this Gentleman's productions, for it is most unquestionably a pleasure of a cer-

tain kind, and see the display of great talents on a subject, however unworthy; I say that all such readers must be aware of the sudden changes that the opinions of this able writer undergo with respect to the characters of public men and public measures. Almost every number of *The Weekly Register* is distinguished by this variation.

The Chief Justice—We are confined at present, Mr. Brougham, to those parts of the publication which are set forth as libels upon the plaintiff in this action.

Mr. COBBETT—My Lord, I wish that the most extensive scope may be allowed to the Learned Gentleman.

Mr. BROUGHAM—It is certainly my wish, my Lord, to confine myself within those limits which your Lordship justly observes ought not to be passed over. Well, then, Gentlemen, because Mr. Cleary produced this letter, which Mr. Cobbett had written, because he had used it in the manner which I have already described, Mr. Cobbett proceeds to attack him as what? As the person who forged, or caused to be forged, the letter so read by Mr. Cleary; and as you know what Mr. Cobbett's manner is, knowing the levity with which things of so public a nature are apt to be read, and how soon they are forgotten, to dwell systematically upon the same subject, and never once to let go his grip until he has made his impression, sometimes varying the form, and very often using the identical words, so that from



the very repetition they acquire force; in that his peculiar manner does he heal in this case with his unfortunate victim—until every one who reads Mr. Cobbett's *Register* necessarily mixes up the name of Cleary and forgery, until they at length become associated, and the purpose of the calumny is thus completely accomplished. After having dwelt on this, the most pernicious of all these libels, it would be useless for me to occupy your time in alluding to the others, which however serious or severe, are less calculated to do mischief to the plaintiff's character. But I may tell you, that I have not stated the worst part of this libel, because you will find in another part of it that which alone was wanting to complete the calumny: the motives of the forgery are there assigned. After talking of a petition which had been signed very generally as the effect of his own exertion, Mr. Cobbett proceeds to state that this forgery could have originated in no other motive that he could divine, than that of a reward from Sir Francis Burdett, his opulent and base employer. So that this charge involves the basest and the worst motive by which the vilest man on earth could have been influenced. And now I ask you, Gentlemen, if ever a worse libel was published than that which I have now described to you?—I shall not occupy your time in dwelling upon the peculiar shade of criminality by which it is marked, and, perhaps, I should have better consulted the

interests of this case had I read those libels to you, and simply asked you what would you have felt had you been their object, and what would you have given that none such had ever been written of you, and then calling upon you to try by such a criterion the case before you? But as Mr. Cobbett is here to defend himself, it becomes necessary to say a very few words with respect to the charge itself. You will observe the great advantage that defendants are placed under who deal in general abuse, in vague and undefined censure, which is incapable of justification; but here is the case of a defendant charging an individual with uttering a forged letter, knowing it to be forged, and the evidence is within his own reach to substantiate that charge. If the letter is not Mr. Cobbett's, he had an opportunity of justifying upon the record, and thus defeating the action at once, by proving that it was a forgery, and shewing that Mr. Cleary had uttered it, knowing it to be a forgery. What has he done? he has merely pleaded the general issue, thus admitting that the letter is not a forgery, though he has hitherto repeatedly denied that it was his hand-writing, and has asserted that it was forged by Cleary, for the purpose of gaining a reward or a bribe from his base employer. Now, gentlemen, to anticipate what may be the line of his defence would be quite impossible. All topics are open to him; but I trust that you will not listen to him on one topic, should he

happen to dwell upon it. If you hear any thing said about freedom of discussion, if one word escapes him about the liberty of the press, do not shut your ears against it; but hear it for the sake of free discussion, for the sake of Mr. Cobbett, and for the sake of the liberty of the press; and no advocate of that freedom of discussion, of its champion or its liberty, will require less than I do, namely, that it should be restrained by no other fetters than truth. Gentlemen, I will give to Mr. Cobbett, and to all who write for the public, the amplest means of attacking all opinions, of violently assaulting those establishments under which these opinions have been cherished, they shall have the use of every weapon they please for the purpose of eliciting truth without stint or control. I will not quarrel with the weapons they use any more than I will with the subjects which they attack; their vulgarity shall pass for strength, their ribaldry shall be wit, their buffoonery playfulness, they shall libel all men as well as all things, they shall month after month, or day after day, blacken or illustrate those characters they please; there must be but one limit to their range, and that is truth—one control to their aberrations, and that is falsehood. They must not range under the dominion of that spirit of mischief, but if they assert, they must be prepared to prove, and if they do not prove, they must be held guilty, not of invective, but of calumny.

Are we to be told that the only property which is not defended by law is character, that this which every honourable man prizes more highly than all other earthly boons, is to become the sport and sarcasm of every coward calumniator? Are we to be told that an unbounded license is allowed to fritter down the fair fame of every honest individual? If Mr. Cobbett can leave any doubt on your minds that such a law would not be fatal to the press, give as small damages as you please against him, but if all he says tends only to confirm you in the conviction of a contrary opinion, then I only ask that you should revert to that criterion to which I have before alluded. Place yourselves in my client's situation, and say what would you not give, rather than suffer under such unmerited calumny? I only ask that you should award against the defendant such damages as you would give to one whose peace of mind, not to say whose health, has been incurably injured by these publications.

#### THE LIBELS.

*From Register, of 5 September, 1818.*

"Now, though you doubtless  
 "would not forge a Letter for  
 "so base a purpose, I declare  
 "that you have re-published a  
 "forgery; I declare this by the  
 "said defendant, and produced  
 "and read by the said plaintiff,  
 "to be a forgery; I accuse  
 "Cleary, before the people of  
 "America, as I have done



" before the people of Eng-  
 " land, of having forged this  
 " letter, or, which is the same  
 " in point of baseness, of having  
 " obtained it from a man who  
 " had forged it, and which man  
 " he well knew to have been  
 " guilty of forging my writing  
 " and name, for fraudulent pur-  
 " poses, many times. Mr. Cleary  
 " now appeared in a new cha-  
 " racter, instead of shunning ob-  
 " servation, he courted it. He  
 " expressed great gratitude to  
 " me; and, he accused Sir  
 " Francis Burdett of desertion  
 " and cowardice. Yes, that  
 " very Sir Francis Burdett whom  
 " he now endeavours to uphold  
 " by blackening the character  
 " of my friend, and that too,  
 " through the means of a for-

gery of my hand-writing;  
 " and this he does from no other  
 " possible motive, that I can  
 " divine, than that of a pecu-  
 " niary reward from his opulent  
 " employer."

*From Register of 5 Decem-  
 ber, 1818.*

" Cleary, we are told, was  
 " mounted on a white charger:  
 " emblem of purity! He should  
 " have had a pillion behind  
 " him for his forging associate.  
 " That would have capped the  
 " climax of purity, though God  
 " has not given to Man a do-  
 " minion so absolute over in-  
 " ferior animals, as to justify so  
 " horrible a degradation of the  
 " honest charger."

" *Baronet.*—My dear and faithful friend, thou reason'st well,  
 It must be so. \* (*Sits down to write.*)

Here! (*rising*) This potent cheque to Coutts's swiftly bear;  
 The means, far more than ample, you'll find there,  
 To drench my householders and deck their wives;  
 To make them, 'gainst Hunt's mob, expose their lives,  
 And, 'gainst himself, to arm with dirks or knives;  
 And if the ruffian come to seek me out,  
 You'll swear, dear Cleary, I have got the gout.

" *Cleary.*—We'll Hunt, my Liege, attack by forgery,  
 And make him black as ———

" *Baronet.*—Hell, you'd doubtless say;  
 Ah! dearest Cleary, that's the only way!  
 But, who'll believe?

" *Cleary.*—'Tis Cobbett's name we take.

" *Baronet.*—The sound, dear Cleary, gives my nerves a shake.  
 But, can you blacken absent Cobbett too!

" *Cleary.*—We'll try, my Liege, what your bank-notes will do  
 With Walter, Stewart, Perry, all the tribe,  
 No man of whom who will not take a bribe.

" *Baronet.*—Bless'd paper-money, last and best supply;  
 That lends corruption lighter wings to fly! †

\* *Play of Cato.*

† *Pope's Satires.*

That from the poll makes men like Cartwright flee,  
And fills the senate's seats with men like me!

"*Cleary*.—My Liege, I haste your wishes to obey;  
And blacken'd Hunt shall rue the provocation  
Given by his ruffian band. Into  
His affairs most private will we enter;  
His debts and dues, the treatment of his wife,  
And his amours at every stage of life;  
And though *he* still may act the hero's part,  
We're sure, at least, to wring a *woman's* heart.  
Adieu! my Liege, and—— (going.)

"*Baronet*.——One word, dear Cleary.  
'Twere well, indeed, to talk of debts and dues,  
Of wife neglected, and e'en of living  
With another's wife; but, if *a child* he have  
By wife of bosom friend, for maintenance  
Of which he money gave, and then re-took,  
At hazard of exposure of the dame:  
In such a case, it were not wise the act  
To hold aloft to public scorn.

"*Cleary*.——Ecod!  
To horse that's blind a wink's as good as nod!  
And now I go to bother, lie and bribe;  
To forge myself, or hire a forging scribe;  
To make our 'England's Glory' brighter shine,  
And fix you in your seat by right divine."

"The challenge of the little  
"contemptible reptile, Cleary,  
"was, however, the thing which  
"had most offended him. He  
"had seen this creature, the  
"mere cat's-paw of the Baronet.  
"He had seen him stuck upon  
"the white charger, but he did  
"not, till he saw me here, know  
"the political history of this  
"Cleary; this challenger of you;  
"this would have been hang-  
"man of the unfortunate re-  
"sisters in Derbyshire. Wor-  
"thy agent of the Baronet!"

From Register, 26th Dec. 1818.

"This Cleary, who had been  
"the Baronet's authorised agent  
"in the work of founding coun-  
"try Hampden Clubs, who had  
"been deserted by the Baronet,  
"and who had called him in  
"my hearing, and that of an-  
"other credible witness, by all  
"the names descriptive of a  
"deserter, a coward, and a mean  
"wretch; this Cleary, that the  
"Baronet shuffled out of pre-  
"sented his memorable peti-  
"tion, by pretending it was too  
"humble, and by saying, 'I'd  
"see them damned before I'd  
"present such a petition to  
"them;' this Cleary, who  
"laughed heartily at this shuf-  
"fle, which I compared to the  
"bullying shuffle of Falstaff: 'I  
"call thee coward, Hal: I'd  
"see thee damned ere I'd call  
"thee coward!' This Cleary,  
"who, after reading my attacks



" upon the Baronet, and alter  
 " witnessing his intrigue with  
 " the Rump for putting forward  
 " Kinnaird in order to keep  
 " you out; this Cleary, with all  
 " this knowledge of characters,  
 " and of the real views of the  
 " parties, becomes the open,  
 " the avowed, the brazen-faced,  
 " the shameless agent of the  
 " Baronet. Talk of miracles,  
 " indeed; of miracles wrought  
 " by fasting and praying; what  
 " are these compared with a  
 " handful of Bank-notes! The  
 " very act of joining the Baro-  
 " net, this act on the part of  
 " Cleary, who had spoken of  
 " him as of a coward or traitor,  
 " was base enough; but to be-  
 " come his chief agent in the  
 " annoying and assailing of Mr.  
 " Hunt, was truly detestable.  
 " However, this man must be  
 " regarded as being of himself  
 " nothing at all. He was a  
 " mere hired Secretary of the  
 " Hampden Club; and he has  
 " now been the mere servant of  
 " Burdett as completely as old  
 " John the porter is the Baro-  
 " net's servant. To view this  
 " Cleary in any other light would  
 " be not only ridiculous, but it  
 " would be to do great injus-  
 " tice. Cleary is a thing here  
 " to-day and gone to-morrow.  
 " We must not, therefore, suffer  
 " the sins of the Baronet to be  
 " carried away by such a scape-  
 " goat. Cleary has been the  
 " agent, and nothing more  
 " than the agent. When the  
 " Rump had resolved upon Kin-  
 " naird, they detached Cleary  
 " to affect friendship for you,  
 " and to aid others in setting

" you up against Mr. Hunt; but  
 " as soon as it was discovered  
 " that Kinnaird would not pass;  
 " as soon as it was discovered  
 " that the people would not  
 " listen to Kinnaird, then Clea-  
 " ry, having negociated your  
 " resignation, becomes the agent  
 " of the Baronet to procure him  
 " a seat at all events, and to  
 " calumniate Mr. Hunt if neces-  
 " sary."

" It is undoubted that the Der-  
 " by men rose for the purpose  
 " of obtaining their rights by  
 " force of arms. And this is  
 " what Cleary calls robbery,  
 " murder, and rioting. So that  
 " after all the big talk about  
 " resisting oppression, we come  
 " to this: that if men are de-  
 " feated in their attempts to re-  
 " sist, they ought to be hanged  
 " as criminals. What did Bran-  
 " dredth do more than was done  
 " by the Whigs at the Revolu-  
 " tion? Nay he did not at-  
 " tempt to do nearly so much;  
 " and yet Cleary would have  
 " been his volunteer hangman."

" They were a set of men de-  
 " luded and deceived by us.  
 " And it was we, and not they,  
 " who ought to have been hang-  
 " ed and beheaded. It was, in  
 " this case, you, my dear Sir,  
 " to hang whom the Reformer,  
 " Cleary, ought to have volun-  
 " teered his services."

" That the fourth assertion is  
 " true I have no doubt. I have  
 " have no doubt that Cleary  
 " would have cheerfully gone  
 " down to act as the hangman  
 " of those whom the Baronet  
 " had first stimulated to action  
 " and then deserted."

## EVIDENCE.

JOHN WRIGHT swore that the letter, which was produced, was in Mr. Cobbett's hand-writing; that he, Wright, was Mr. Cobbett's agent in 1808; that he then received the letter from him. The letter was then read as follows. It is addressed to Mr. John Wright, No. 5, Panton-square, London.

"Botley, 10 April 1808.

{ Plenty  
of Copy  
to-mor-  
row.

"DEAR SIR,

"I send by the Gosport mail, a parcel of copy,  
"Go to the Committee by all means. Let us suffer no little slights to interfere with our public duty. That is the way with those only, who are actuated by selfish motives. I shall be in town on Thursday night next, or on Saturday night. The former will, I think, be the day. If I find all to be good men and true, we will make such a stir as has not for some time been made. All the gentlemen whom I meet with are loud in Sir Francis Burdett's praise. His motion about the cashiering of officers, has gained him thousands of valuable friends. So bent was I upon calling for a purgation of that damned House, that I was resolved to petition ALONE, if any one would have presented my petition. The nation is heart-sick of it. It is impossible for both factions united to calumniate our motives, if we proceed as we

"ought, and do not mix with men of bad character. There is one Hunt, the Bristol-man — Beware of him! He rides about the country with a whore, the wife of another man, having deserted his own—a sad fellow! nothing to do with him.—Adieu.

"WM. COBBETT.

"P. S.—I will write to Sir J. Astley. I am very sorry for his misfortune indeed. I want very much to see some man who has planted upon a large scale. Cutting upon a large scale is the order of the day here."

[The part in *Italicks* is the only part that appeared in the New York papers, as having been read on the Hustings; the only part put into the London papers; and the only part seen by Mr. Cobbett, when he asserted it to be a forgery. The person, to whom the letter was addressed, was not mentioned.]

WRIGHT, on his cross-examination, said, that he gave the letter to Place, one of Sir Francis Burdett's election-committee, called by Mr. Cobbett, the Rump. He acknowledged that he had shown to the Rump two others of Mr. Cobbett's letters; but, he said, that it was only with a view of proving the correspondence in the post-marks. Being asked, whether he had offered to show Mr. Cobbett's letters to the Attorney-General, and also to the late Mr. Whitbread, he swore he had not. He acknowledged that he had shewn a letter of



Mr. Cobbett's to *Mr. Brougham* about a year ago.

[The letter was produced in Court in a volume.]

WRIGHT said that this volume consisted of letters of Mr. Cobbett to the witness. He said he had carried it into Court, last winter. He swore that he did not see the volume turned over upon that occasion by Mr. Gurney or by any body else. He put the letters in a volume as a guard. He was at the hustings when the letter was read by Cleary. *Could not hear* whether it was *all* read. Did not know whether it was *all* put in the newspapers the next day. Did not hear his own name mentioned on the hustings. Acknowledged that the original letter had been kept and exhibited at Samuel Brookes's, glassman, in the Strand. Said, that he had been applied to to let Mr. Cobbett's son see the letter, and that he had *refused*. Gave as a reason, that he feared it would be *snatched*. Said it was kept and shown in a *double glass case*. Did not know whether Mr. Brookes and the whole of the Rump would have been able to prevent it being snatched. Denied that he ever threatened to show Mr. Cobbett's private letters if Mr. Cobbett did not refrain from exposing certain pecuniary attempts of the witness.

JOHN PAUL swore to the hand-writing of the letter, and said that he saw it, amongst others, some years ago.

WILLIAM JACKSON swore that he was Mr. Cobbett's agent for publishing his Register while

he was in America; and that, he received, for his trouble, a third part of the profits. That the libels produced were sent to him by Mr. Cobbett; that he published them under the authority of Mr. Cobbett. On his cross-examination, which was very long, he acknowledged, amongst other things, the following; that he was introduced to Mr. Cobbett by Lord Cochrane; that Mr. Cobbett had never wronged him or offended him or given him an ill word either verbally, or by letter; that he was *acquainted with Wright and with Cleary*, during Mr. Cobbett's absence. Being asked whether he had ever shown Mr. Cobbett's manuscripts (previous to publication) at Brookes's, in the Strand, he said *he might have done it*. Being asked whether he, with Wright, Cleary and others, were not looking over a parcel of Mr. Cobbett's manuscripts at Brookes's, one day when Sir Rd. Phillips dropped in, he said *he did not particularly recollect*; but would *not swear that it was not so*. Being asked whether, upon the receipt of a Register, containing *animadversions on the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett*, he did not hold a council, or consultation, at Major Cartwright's house, when he submitted the said manuscripts, to the Major and to Mr. Parkins, he answered that *this was the case*. Being asked whether the result was not that the manuscript should be put into print and published, he answered that such was the result. Being asked, whether, at the very time

that this intimacy existed between himself, Wright, Cleary and the Rump; at the very time, or about the very time, also, when he might have shown some of the manuscripts at Brookes's, and when Sir Rd. Phillips might have dropped in there; being asked, whether, at, or about, this very time, he did not write to Mr. Cobbett, a letter, in which he *congratulated Mr. Cobbett upon having tickled the Rump*; being asked this question, he answered that *he could not recollect*; said that *he might have done it*; *would not swear that he had not done it*. Being asked whether Mr. Cobbett had not written him a letter to use his own discretion with the manuscripts; to consider them as solely at his own disposal as to publication or not; whether he did not consider himself as being invested with full authority to leave out whatsoever he pleased in order to *avoid the danger of the law*; being asked these questions, he answered them in the *affirmative*. Being asked, whether he had not, without any leave from Mr. Cobbett, inserted in the Register a letter from *Cleary in answer to Mr. Cobbett*, he answered in the *affirmative*. Being asked, whether he had not written for Cleary, or assisted Cleary in writing (*during the absence of Mr. Cobbett*) a pamphlet addressed to Major Cartwright, containing *bitter reflections on Mr. Cobbett's conduct and character*; being asked this, he threw himself on the *protection of the Court*; and his Lordship said, that, as the

question tended to render the witness liable to an action, he was *not bound to answer it*.—Being asked whether he had not joined Cleary in an affidavit, by means of which a warrant was obtained from the Chief Justice, to seize Mr. Cobbett, carry him to a lock-up-house, hold him to bail and to make him justify bail, on account of this action of Cleary; being asked this, Mr. Brougham interfered, and the Chief Justice determined that the question could not be answered. Being, then asked, whether he himself had sworn that he published the Register *for Mr. Cobbett's benefit, without stating that it was partly for his own*; being asked this, Mr. Brougham again interfered, and the question was not allowed to be answered.—Being asked whether he had ever made an *assertion* to this effect, he said that he *might have done it*.—Being asked again whether he had ever received any provocation from Mr. Cobbett, he said *he never had*.—Being asked whether he did not know that Lord Cochrane had recommended him to Mr. Cobbett as a person of SINGULAR FIDELITY, he said he did not know it.

FRANCIS PLACE (Tailor of Charing Cross) swore to the hand writing of the letter.—On his cross-examination he acknowledged that he *got it from Wright*.—He said that it was taken to the Rump Committee; and that after that, he gave it to Cleary for the purpose of being read upon the hustings.—Being asked whether the



whole of it was read, he said *he did not recollect*.—Being asked whether it was mentioned upon the hustings that the letter was *addressed to Wright*, and that it was *written ten years before*, he answered that he *could not recollect*.—Being asked, whether the *whole of the letter was published the next day in the newspapers*, he said he *did not recollect*; being asked who it was that sent the letter or any part of it to be published in the newspapers, he said he *did not know*.—Being asked whether he was a member of the Rump Committee, said he was.

WILLIAM ADAMS (Carrier of Drury Lane) swore that he had seen the letter in 1808; that it had then been brought by Wright, and shewn to the Westminster Committee.—On his cross-examination, he swore that the letter was brought to the Committee (now called *the Rump*) in 1818, during the contested election for Westminster. Being asked whether the *whole of the Rump approved of the letters being read at the hustings*, he said *he believed they did*. Being asked, whether he considered the promulgation of this letter as *proper*, he answered in the *affirmative*.—Being asked whether he considered the letter as a *public one* or a *private one*, he answered, that he considered *part of it to be intended for publication*.—Being asked *which part*, he answered, the part *relating to Mr. Hunt, and the Lady*.—This question was put to him in various shapes, several times, and he repeatedly asserted, that he regarded the

part, wherein mention was made of *Mr. Hunt and the Lady*, as *intended for publication*.—He was asked, “do you say upon your oath, that you regard that part of the letter wherein Mr. Hunt and the lady are mentioned, as intended for publication?” He answered, “*Yes, I did*.” Being asked as to his reasons for approving of the reading of the letter by Cleary, he answered, that he thought, it *right*, after he had seen the *attacks of the writer on Sir F. Burdett*.—Being asked whether the letter, as published in Cobbett’s Register from the New York Evening Post, was the *same* as that which was given to Cleary to read, he answered, that, he had *never read Cobbett’s Register since it began to attack Sir F. Burdett*.—Being asked, whether having, from feelings of delicacy, ceased to read Mr. Cobbett’s *public writings* in 1818, the same feelings of delicacy had induced him to begin reading Mr. Cobbett’s *private writings*; being asked this question, he appeared to say something which was lost amidst the laughter of the auditory.

W. MOLYNEUX (a printer) swore that he printed the Registers containing the libels, and that the manuscript from which he printed was, he believed, in Mr. Cobbett’s hand-writing. On his cross-examination, being asked whether he ever saw Mr. Cobbett write, he said, *Yes, once*. “When?” — “About *three years ago*.” “Where?” — “In Catherine-street, in the

"Strand." "What?"—"An Order on Tipper and Fry for paper." "You say, on your oath, then, that you saw me write an order for paper on Tipper and Fry?"—"Yes." "Then I will ask you not one other question." The witness then got down, in a flurried manner, and then stepped up again and uttered the words: "*at least, I believe.*"

Here Mr. Brougham closed his case. *Major Cartwright* was in Court before the trial began, and continued there 'till it was ended; but he was not called by Cleary. HANSARD, the printer, had been subpoenaed by them, and also Dolby, in the Strand; but neither of them were called. The Chief Justice then called upon Mr. Cobbett for his defence, which consisted of a speech which occupied exactly two hours; and of which the following is the best outline that we have been able to collect from the newspapers; and considering the variety of the topics, the rapidity of the utterance, and the interruption which was so frequently given by the laughter prevailing in the Court, it is quite surprizing that the gentlemen who make reports, should, with all their talent, have been able to give any thing so near to the truth. A great deal they have certainly left out, for which, perhaps, the defendant ought to offer them his thanks rather than make complaints. It is, nevertheless, his duty to observe, that, in the *New Times*, he has been very malignantly misrepresented;—and that every word of sarcasm

on *Major Cartwright*, on *Sir F. Burdett*, or on any persons cordially engaged in the cause of Reform; it becomes him to observe, that every word of this sort imputed to him in that paper, or that may be imputed to him in any other paper, has been so imputed without any foundation whatever. He must in fairness add, that the Report in the *Courier*, is, as far as it goes, candid and true.

#### DEFENCE.

Mr. COBBETT had not the vanity to suppose that he could conduct his defence with half that effect with which it would have been managed by many gentlemen whom he saw around him; but the jury must have perceived that he had a particular description of men to deal with; and perhaps he should not have prevailed upon any gentleman at the bar to handle those men in the way which he had been compelled to do. Mr. Brougham, who had been selected upon the present occasion for what he (Mr. Cobbett) could not help calling a premeditated attack upon him, had thought fit to compliment him with the possession of very considerable powers, probably in order to induce the jury to believe him a hard-hearted, wicked, bloody-minded fellow, who would rip (for that Mr. Cobbett believed had been Mr. Brougham's expression) any body to pieces; and it was in some sort to get rid of that unpleasant imputation that he now was trespassing upon the time



of the Court. It was very easy for a practised, disciplined barrister like Mr. Brougham to deal in such aspersions, and he (Mr. Cobbett) was not prepared to say that he should answer that gentleman in the way in which he ought to be answered; but he would do his best, before he entered upon the case, to remove some of the imputations which so much pains had been taken to produce. The learned Counsel had begun by his feeble efforts, as he had thought fit to term them, to describe the man whom the Jury had to deal with. The Jury must have expected to see a sort of monster drawn forth into the light; but he trusted he should convince them, one and all, that among the many libellers who had attacked him (Mr. C.), Mr. B. by no means deserved the least distinguished situation. Mr. B. had ascribed to him talent and zeal, and had said that he was to be dreaded. To be dreaded! dreaded! It was not a very high compliment to tell a man that he was to be dreaded. Some of the persons, however, who had stood in the witness-box to-day could have told the Jury, could have given satisfactory evidence, that he was not a person to be dreaded; but that he was too gentle, too liberal, too generous, and too easy to be duped; and, moreover, of all those facts Mr. Brougham was well aware. Mr. Brougham had described him as a man without scruple; as a sort of libeller surpassing all other men. From first to last he had been a writer, and often a pub-

lisher of his own writings; he had been a writer for twenty-eight years in England and in America; and yet, with all his over-zeal—and he wished to Heaven some people had recently shown as much zeal as he was taxed with; but, with all his excess of zeal and lack of scruple, he had never, in the course of twenty years' writing in England, been subjected to an action for libel, until the present action had been brought by a set of conspirators; and conspirators he would prove them before he had done with them. Mr. Brougham ought to have known that; indeed he did know it; and therefore his zeal, for once, for his client had caused him to overstep that which he knew to be true. In England, he repeated, he had never had an action against him; and, in America, only one; that was for a libel upon a physician. The physician (father, by the by, of the present American ambassador in London) had alledged that he lost practice to the amount of 20,000 dollars per annum; and 5000 dollars damages had been given against him (Mr. Cobbett); but the people had paid the money; and he (Mr. Cobbett) had done a service to the country by rescuing the people from his *inexorable lancets*. Twenty years had he been writing in England; he had not suffered the grass to grow under his feet, scarce a week had passed but he had written something; and yet he had never before had an action against him for libel. There was not a Newspaper, not a Magazine—

no, not even the *Evangelical*—that could say as much; and, to mark him out as a libeller! The learned Gentleman had drawn a picture both hideous and false. But there had been criminal prosecutions! Well. In the first case of criminal prosecution against him in England, the MS. had proceeded from a Judge; it had been handed to him by a Member of Parliament; it had been certified to be true by a Marquis and another Member of Parliament. Agreeably to the original contract between the parties, the Judge not coming forward to prove the truth of the libel (as he might have done, because there was *an action* also on the same libel), the MS. was given up; there was a trial at bar, where the Court was prepared to hold that the smallest alteration of the MS., even of a letter, would have prevented a conviction; the Judge was convicted; and instead of two years' imprisonment and a fine of 1,000*l.*, and securities for half a dozen years, and so forth, the Judge got a snug pension of 1,200*l.* a-year for his life. As for the prosecution by the Attorney-General, he (Mr. Cobbett) could only say that it had done him no harm. It had given him leisure indeed, and he had written and revised many things during his confinement. He had gone into prison sound; and he had come out sound; and his seven years of recognizance had expired. Look at the *Times* and the *Chronicle*, and the other newspapers; look at the Magazines and the Re-

views; even the *Edinburgh Review*, with all its clish-macclaver, had not been free; but it had crept out of consequences by those softening arts which the northern Gentlemen knew so well how to adopt, while southern stupid fools ran their heads into a gaol. With respect to the protection of private character, that subject had been improperly introduced.—Cleary was not a private individual; he was a public character, a political character; he had been mixed up with Major Cartwright, whom he had hoped to have seen put into the box by Mr. Brougham. Cleary, the associate of Major Cartwright!—yes, as a bug might be said to be a man's bed-fellow. In the speech of the learned Gentleman, the plaintiff Cleary was described as intimately connected with Major Cartwright, and as having been introduced to him by a great number of friends, all of whom regarded Cleary as an enthusiast in the cause of Reform. He was to be not only a brother, but a bed-fellow, of the Reformer's. If, then, the connexion between Cleary and Major Cartwright was to be put into the fore-ground of the plaintiff's case; if that was to be made a leading part, and to form a chief ingredient in the plaintiff's *claim for damages*—how did it happen that the venerable Major, who was then in Court, had *not been put into the box as a witness*? He (Mr. Cobbett) had flattered himself, that, however tight bound the rest of the witnesses might prove, the oppor-



tunity would still remain to him of extracting from Major Cartwright the true history of the case. It had been represented that the friends of Cleary had succeeded in prevailing upon Major Cartwright to receive and adopt the plaintiff, as qualified to move in the first ranks of reform. It was also represented that he was quite disinterested, and looked to no other reward than the success of the common cause. Now had the evidence of Major Cartwright been called for that individual, whose evidence was all important on this particular, they (the gentlemen of the Jury) would perhaps have heard a different account. Major Cartwright would have proved more: he would have informed them that Cleary was anything but a private character; that, as to what had been said about invading family happiness, Cleary was the last man whose private circle or whose domestic fire-side was liable to interruption. In order to shew how improbable it was that the harmony of this man's home should be disturbed by the writings in question, he would for a moment or two advert to his first appearance on the stage of English politics. In the year 1812 he came over from Ireland, where he had been clerk to a scrivener, and became what the French called *sous secretaire*. Instead of imitating many of his worthy countrymen in industriously sweeping the crossings, or aiming at the post, for which he (Mr. Cobbett) did not mean to dispute his qualifications, of a tight little fellow of a footman, he contrived to get

appointed under secretary to the Hampden Club, at the subscription office of which the defendant had seen him stuck up like Matthew at the receipt of custom! For what he did, or did not, in that office, it could be proved by Major Cartwright, in direct contradiction to the plaintiff's statements, that he received pay. His (Mr. Cobbett's) son had also been subpoenaed, and why was he not put into the box? Had he been he might have confirmed or supplied the testimony of the Major, and have satisfied them as to the purity and disinterestedness of Mr. Cleary. In the paper of March 6th, this patriotic Irishman was fairly stated to have complained, in his (Mr. Cobbett's) house in Catherine-street, that the Club owed him money, although he had since sworn that nothing could be offered to a gentleman like him, and had also sworn that he was a gentleman.

Mr. BROUGHAM objected to this part of the defendant's address, as including facts not supported by evidence, and which the Court, therefore, would feel itself bound to restrain, as matter tending to prepossess the minds of the jury.

Mr. COBBETT said he had no control over the learned gentleman, nor did he perceive why the learned gentleman should endeavour to control him; it was at the discretion of the learned gentleman either to reject or to take for granted the circumstances now stated, and by referring to his own pleasure merely, in the exercise of that discretion, he would perhaps be

but following the fashion of his own part of the country.

Mr. Brougham insisted on the validity of his objection.

The Lord Chief Justice remarked that the rule was extremely clear.

Mr. COBBETT resumed.—He was truly surprised that the learned gentleman should be so full of objections, after the full swing which he had himself indulged in. He had been about to proceed with his account to the Jury of this Cleary's progress after his arrival in this country. It might be easily supposed that he was soon enlisted under the banners of Major Cartwright, and little wonder would arise, at hearing, that he very soon after assumed the capacity of an apostle of reform, with a bundle of lectures in his pocket, and, in the comfortable conveyance of a horse and gig, he commenced his travels through the country.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—“I think, Mr. Cobbett, you are now descending too much into particulars.”

Mr. COBBETT assured the Court, that his only object was to satisfy the Jury that the plaintiff was unworthy of any damages.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—“My only doubt is, whether you are not entering more minutely than any supposed necessity of the case requires, into circumstances which the Court and Jury cannot receive upon your unsupported statement.”

Mr. COBBETT said his intention was to show that this very Cleary had, notwithstanding his

professions, declared himself ready to be the executioner, and had perhaps led to the execution, of the unfortunate men who perished upon the scaffold in Derbyshire.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—“I cannot listen to this; what relevancy has it to the question before the Court?”

Mr. COBBETT said, he was prepared to show, that the plaintiff was paid for travelling, with a view to the institution of country Hampden Clubs. Of these societies, as well as of all other political clubs, he had never disguised his disapprobation. For his own part, he had never, during the whole course of his life, encouraged or assisted the formation of one single nest of this kind. The plaintiff had told his family, prior to his own going abroad, and to the Westminster election in the year 1818, at their residence in Catherine-street, that Sir F. Burdett was a deserter from the public cause; that he was a coward and a mean fellow, and had not paid to him (Cleary) the money which he had been promised. This fact, also, the Major might have established in evidence, had he been called on the other side.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE here observed, that no justification had been put on the record; it was extremely unpleasant to him to restrain the defendant, but the Court was bound to act in all cases upon general rules.

Mr. COBBETT declared he had no wish to consume unnecessarily the time either of his Lordship or of the Jury.

The LORD CHIEF JUSTICE.—



"My time is nothing; I only desire that the principles upon which the Court acts should be clearly understood."

Mr. COBBETT, adverting to what the learned Counsel had said with respect to the Westminster Election, at which the present controversy originated, observed, that if Major Cartwright had been placed in the witnesses' box, as he should have been, he could have shewn that Cleary was not the person entitled to complain, as he was actually the aggressor in publishing a private letter, improperly obtained from a treacherous agent, for the purpose of scandalising a particular candidate at that election, and involving him (Mr. Cobbett) in a quarrel with this candidate. If Major Cartwright had been adduced as a witness, he should also have shewn that which the Major would no doubt have had the justice to admit, that he had always and decidedly disapproved of these political clubs, to promote the establishment of which Cleary was specially employed. He disapproved of such clubs, because he could not help regarding them as so many little nests, over which the agents of Government might at any time cast their nets. At the Westminster Election, alluded to in this case, it would be recollected, that Major Cartwright and Mr. Hunt were candidates, as well as Sir F. Burdett.—Cleary was at the outset an advocate for the Major, but he afterwards joined the standard of the Baronet and the Rump, and to them he endeavoured with

others to persuade Mr. Hunt to yield his pretensions; but faith, Mr. Hunt would not resign.—Thence a controversy arose, and Mr. Hunt thought proper to read a letter of Cleary's, in which the latter expressed his readiness to become the hangman of the unfortunate Derby people, who composed one of the nests formed by himself, and over which Oliver threw his net. But whatever were the mists of this controversy, or the provocation received by Cleary, he, who was at the time in America, had no concern whatever with it, and it was obviously unjust, as a jury of honest men must feel, that he should suffer for the conduct of others; yet Cleary, with the consent, or rather at the instigation of the Rump Committee, thought proper to inflict this suffering upon him. To-day, as well as on other occasions, complaint was made of him for having called the letter alluded to a *forgery*, and it was urged by the Learned Counsel, that he had (as much as) been guilty of charging Cleary of uttering a *forged* note. But here he must observe, in order to repel the impression which the Learned Counsel sought to make, that there was a very material difference between uttering a *forged* note and a *forged* letter. The Learned Gentleman dwelt with the dexterity of an advocate upon the crime of uttering a forged bank note, which was a felony, but in candour, what comparison was there between an act which incurred the penalty of death, and the uttering

a forged letter, to which no punishment was attached? If his (Mr. C.'s) son had been put into the box, he would have deposed that he had applied long since to see this letter, in order to see whether it were genuine or not, as some of his friends had said it was. Only a part of this letter was read at the Westminster hustings by Cleary, and from that part he had no recollection of such a letter, and this could not excite any surprise, when it was remembered that the letter purported to have been written so far back as 1808. If the postscript as to Sir Jacob Astley had been published, that circumstance might have brought it to his recollection, and if so, he should have no hesitation in avowing it. But that a letter written in a hurry, about ten years before it was adduced at the hustings, should have escaped his memory, was not matter of surprise. But it was evidently a blameable matter publicly to read a letter of this nature with respect to an individual with whom he was at the time living upon friendly terms—whom he was then, indeed, recommending to the confidence of his country. Whether Francis Place or Wm. Adams, of the Westminster Rump, or their co-conspirators, thought it fair or not to make such a use of a private letter, he must suppose that the Learned Counsel, as well as all honourable men, could not help regarding such a breach of private confidence as a most atrocious act. But the charge of forgery was alone

pressed forward by the members of the conspiracy, while the *breach of confidence* was thrown into the back ground. There were, however, forgeries of omission as well as of commission; and it was indisputable, that the publication of a mere extract of the letter alluded to did amount to the crime of forgery, for in a garbled state *that letter was not his*. But had his son, whom the other side had summoned as a witness, been put in the box, this affair would have been fully explained. However, as the case appeared, the publication of this letter was clearly a dishonourable action. Adams had deposed, that he thought the letter *meant for publication*; but who that read the whole of it could entertain such an impression? Place did not go so far as Adams, saying, that he thought this letter only meant for the consideration of the Committee. The letter cautioned that Committee against Mr. Hunt, who was, as it stated, travelling about the country with a certain female, who was not his wife. Now, upon this point he could not forbear from expressing his approbation to a certain extent of the defence, lately set up by Col. French, on a similar charge against him. That officer pleaded the affection and fidelity which he had experienced for a series of years, from the female with whom he was accused of associating, and his plea made a due impression in his defence. Still he would not be understood to plead for the association of Mr. Hunt with



the female alluded to. But he would ask whether Sir F. Burdett, who had for some weeks enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. Hunt, under the same roof and in the company of this female, were entitled to make that association the subject of public censure? But other persons should have been silent upon this subject as well as Sir F. Burdett. Was it possible, indeed, that any other persons than Wright, Jackson, Cleary, Adams, and Place, could approve of the propagation of such censure? Could those who condemned the conduct of Majocchi, Demont, and Ompteda, approve of such a breach of confidence as that of which he had, in this instance, so much right to complain? What was there more hateful in those Italian wretches, than in the men whom we have this day seen in the box? Had the Jury looked at their *countenances*? And had such a set been seen at Dover, would not the honest people there have flung them into the sea? The learned Counsel had alleged that Ompteda had broken open the locks of the Queen's private drawer; but the Baron could not have expected to find Bergami there. No! If Ompteda had broken the locks, and he could readily believe an Hanoverian Minister willing to do any thing to which the devil himself could be disposed, he must suppose him to do so with a view to find the Princess's letters. But, if there had happened to be a Wright in her Royal Highness's confidence, Ompteda need not

have picked locks, for he might have obtained private letters by the same means that were resorted to in this case by Place, Adams, and Cleary. We had also heard of Vilmercati and Colonel Browne, and, with regard to them also he might say something, if he were not interrupted.

The Judge observed that Mr. Cobbett had gone far enough for his purpose.

Mr. COBBETT resumed, observing that these two personages had seduced the clerk of the Queen's law agent to give up some of her confidential papers, and thus more accurately imitated, rather than formed the example for Place, Adams, and Cleary. Thus the reprobation which the learned Counsel so profusely, but so justly, applied to the Milan Commission, might be transferred to the conspiracy of which he had reason to complain on the present occasion. The learned Counsel had said that his client was so much agitated by the alleged libels, that they were but too likely to interfere with his capabilities to become a practical barrister, to which object his present studies were directed. Now, considering the scarcity of the gentlemen of the bar, and the difficulty of procuring law for love or money, he must say that he should feel seriously responsible if he had the misfortune to occasion a deduction from that learned profession of such an eminent personage as Mr. T. Cleary (*a laugh*)! It was held to be a crime, even by poachers, to destroy young birds;

and how criminal, then, must he be, if he really had crushed a lawyer in the egg! (*Loud laughing, in which the Court and the Jury cordially participated*). He should be really sorry to commit such a crime, although so frequently and so severely provoked by Cleary; for this personage had published several libels upon him before his return from America, in the composition of which libels his faithful agent, Jackson, refused to say that he did not assist. One of those libels, which was the principal, was addressed to Major Cartwright, as the publication purported, by the Major's consent. Cleary, indeed, boasted that he had four or five times killed him (Mr. C.) with his pen while in America; and the first communication which he received from that literary warrior upon his return to England, was a challenge to fight a duel, threatening him with a stamp of cowardice if he refused to attend to the challenge, but complacently adding, that if he himself were too old to meet the challenger, that challenger would meet his eldest son, for whom he professed a great regard.

Mr. BROUGHAM observed, that there would be no end to this latitude if the defendant were allowed to proceed.

The Judge said that if the defendant did not mean to adduce evidence to these statements, they must be thrown out of the consideration of the Jury.

Mr. COBBETT said that Cleary had sent him two challenges, the first on the 28th of Septem-

ber, and the second shortly afterwards, in which he stated, that he (Mr. Cobbett) had done him no harm, and yet but a few days elapsed when Cleary made an affidavit before his Lordship that he had suffered an injury to a certain extent for which he (Mr. Cobbett) was held to bail.

Mr. BROUGHAM again protested against the statements which Mr. Cobbett was making, observing that he understood Mr. Cobbett intended to produce no evidence.

Mr. COBBETT maintained, that the interruptions of the learned Counsel were not justifiable.

The JUDGE said, that it was his duty to tell the defendant that he was not at liberty to state that which he did not mean to prove.

Mr. COBBETT observed, that he was not stating any thing but that which was quite notorious.

The JUDGE remarked then, that the notoriety precluded the necessity of the statement.

After some further controversy—

Mr. COBBETT said, that he would put the cases to which he had alluded hypothetically, for the consideration of the Jury, which the Judge admitted, as the Counsel for the plaintiff had put many cases hypothetically, to which he had not attempted to adduce any evidence. Mr. Brougham, however, contending that he was entitled to comment upon hypothetical cases. But this position was not admitted by the Court.

Mr. COBBETT proceeded, and, under the shelter of supposition, recited all the misconduct with



which he charged Cleary, Wright and Jackson. He mentioned that he had released Wright from a prison, fed and clothed him, and considering him as a creature of his own, communicated confidentially for several years. He regarded him as grateful; although, finding him supple, he ought not to have trusted him. In the course of his connexion with him, however, he wrote to him probably 2000 letters upon the most confidential matters with regard to his family and business, and upon turning him off when he had good reason to suspect him, this man retained all those letters, instead of giving them up as became an honest man. To Jackson he was introduced by Lord Cochrane. To him also he gave that confidence which his unsuspecting nature was but too liable to grant. Yet this man, to whom he never gave any offence, was found to use his own Register for the purpose of publishing attacks upon his character, and to league with his known enemies, Cleary, Wright, Place and Adams, with a view to injure him. Of Molineux, who was also a member of this conspiracy, he should only declare, as he could most solemnly, that he never wrote the order to the stationers, to which that witness deposed. What then was to be thought of the turpitude of this corps, or what security could there be for any man or his family, if such breach of confidence as that of which Wright stood convicted could possibly be sanctioned? But he cared not a farthing about this man's expo-

sure of his private letters. So indeed he had always told his children. For whatever foolish letters he might have written, he felt confident that he had never written any thing which could justify any one in saying that William Cobbett was not an honest man. But, when he said this, he meant *the series* of his letters; *all*, and *every part* of *every* one. The learned Counsel had shown his wish to dwell upon the letter read at Covent Garden hustings as a proof in his conception, that he (Mr. C.) was not consistent in his principles or opinions of men; but notwithstanding this letter, written when he knew nothing of Mr. Hunt, except from common report, he would say that that gentleman possessed great merits, although the learned Counsel shewed such a disposition to abuse him.

Mr. BROUGHAM denied that he had said a word about Mr. Hunt; he should indeed be ashamed to abuse any man in Mr. Hunt's situation.

The JUDGE said, that he did not hear the learned Gentleman mention Mr. Hunt.

Mr. COBBETT admitted that Mr. Hunt was not *named* in the way of reprobation; but it was impossible to mistake the learned gentleman's allusion, or the inferences which he wished to have drawn. Adverting to the learned gentleman's allusion to his supposed versatility of opinion, he admitted that he had changed, but it was generally from good to better, or at least from bad to good—while the learned gentleman's chopping

about was quite of a different description, as appeared from his renunciation of his *written pledge* in favour of Radical Reform, which he had lodged in the hands of that faithful gentleman, Mr. F. Place (one of his *own witnesses this very day!*) who *thought proper to give it to the public*. What was the sense of this talk about *inconsistency*? Which of the Jury had not changed their opinion of *things*, and especially of *men*? Which of them had not had a clerk, or a servant, whom they had once praised, and afterwards found worthy of reprobation? *Othello* praised *Iago* in the middle of the play, but, at last, he called him, "*cursed, damned, Iago!*" just as he (the defendant) did with regard to Wright. But what evil genius, what malignant spright, could have instigated the hon. and learned gentleman to adopt this cant about inconsistency! Him, whose shocking inconsistency, whose change from *good* to *bad*, had been so completely exposed by the venerable Major, and who, in pretending that his wretched client was *connected* with the Major, really appeared to be actuated by motives somewhat vindictive, seeming resolved, in repayment for the lash laid on his shoulders by the Major, to fasten his client on the Major's back for the remainder of his life! This was a conspiracy as foul as any they had heard of lately, although not so important as to the parties against whom it was directed. Now, as to the ques-

tion of damages; the impudence, the audacity of such a man as the plaintiff asking for damages, was unparalleled. The plaintiff had begun the attack; he had poured forth pamphlet after pamphlet against him (the defendant), to which he had made, by the by, no reply.

Mr. BROUGHAM—I must make the same observation as I have made before. If Mr. Cobbett has any evidence to prove this, I have no objection to his arguing upon it.

The CHIEF JUSTICE observed, the defendant should confine himself to what had been proved, or what he intended to prove.

Mr. COBBETT proceeded.—The plaintiff had taken him to the Judge's chambers. He (the defendant) did not impute to the Judge that he had acted unfairly; Judges were but men; they were obliged to believe men on their oaths; but this was a very extraordinary proceeding. The Jury knew that, according to the new law, or according to the modern interpretation of the law, when a man now-a-days was prosecuted for a seditious libel, he might be brought before a Justice of the Peace, who, according to an oath made before him, might bind the party over till the time of trial, and meantime to keep the peace. That was *tight* enough in all conscience; yet that was for an offence against the State; against "the peace of our Lord the King, his crown and dignity." But now it appeared that there was a law somewhere,



and if he had been learned in the law, he might have been able to fish it out for them, that, if a paper were written against a man, which he chose to call a libel, he might go before a Judge, and swear that he had sustained injury from that publication, though he had the moment before declared that he had received no damage at all, and at the same time swear, that the person who had written the paper was going to leave the country; it was law, that on the strength of these declarations the writer might be carried to a lock-up house till he gave security to answer for it as if for a *bona fide* debt. This was the first time he (the defendant) had ever heard of such a law, and he believed it never had been law in England; that at least for an hundred years such a thing had been never heard of. Jackson would not swear that he did not know that he (the defendant) had issued the prospectus of a Daily Paper; that he had, in conjunction with his son, taken a house in the Strand for that purpose; and that he was living with his family at Botley. All this was well known to every one who read the newspapers; and no man did or could suppose that he had come across the Atlantic, and would then immediately go back again. His intention of staying here, and his plans of business, were as notorious as the Queen's going to St. Paul's on Wednesday se'nnight; his office was as notorious, at least, as St. Clement's church in the Strand. Yet, knowing all this,

Cleary had gone to a Judge to swear that he apprehended that he should quit the country. Was ever act so malicious or base? It was then spread the next day, through all the *respectable* newspapers, that Cobbett was arrested for *debt* by Cleary.

The CHIEF JUSTICE.—This is not stated in evidence.

Mr. BROUGHAM.—Mr. Cleary made the *usual* affidavit of *debt*.

Mr. COBBETT.—It might be presumed, from the circumstances of the case, that it must have got abroad. It did, in fact, get abroad; it was published in the country papers, and, among the rest, in the Hampshire Parson's Paper, where it was read by his (the defendant's) wife, at Botley. Talk of carrying war into the bosom of private families! Could any act like this be ascribed to William Cobbett in the long course of his public life? And he, the *mild* Mr. Cleary, came to be protected against the *furious* William Cobbett! *Feebleness* was often taken for *mildness*;—but they should recollect that the feeblest animals were often the most malicious—reptiles the most crawling were the most venomous. He begged the Jury to look at the whole transaction honestly, from the beginning to the end; that they would not be made the instruments of robbing him and his family, though he would rather that should be the case than buckle to the learned gentleman or his client.—He begged they would not give their sanction to the basest treachery ever

known; he begged them to think once again of the *countenances* of the witnesses before their decision; afterwards, no doubt, they would be glad to forget them for ever (*a laugh.*) He begged them to mark with reprobation this abominable system of *espionage*, this spy system, to shew the natural abhorrence of Englishmen at what was base, and to let their decision stamp the infamy of those who had been guilty of such *a breach of private confidence.*

The Chief Justice summed up the evidence, and charged the Jury.

The Jury retired for about three quarters of an hour, and then brought in their verdict:—Damages, FORTY SHILLINGS.

#### HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE PARISH OF ST. MARY, ISLINGTON.

My cordial thanks are due to the inhabitants of the parish of St. Mary, Islington, for this loyal and affectionate address.

If my adversaries had felt any regard for a free government, they would never have set aside all the forms of the constitution, and trampled on all the rights of individuals, for the purpose of gratifying the purposes of power or ministering to the appetite of revenge.

My enemies have now done their worst, and we are at liberty to contemplate the case they have attempted to esta-

blish, and the effect they have produced. Never was there so much assertion and so little proof—such an accumulation of criminal remarks, and such a variety of even specious evidence! If we take away from this mountain of accusation all the circumstances that have been misrepresented, all the minutiae that have been exaggerated, what do we leave it but an inflated mass of the most palpable falsehoods and glaring perjuries that ever were heaped together by power, instigated by unmitigated malignity, and assisted by unbounded wealth?

In the midst of the many painful circumstances connected with this unparalleled proceeding, there is one on which I may congratulate the country: it has produced a degree of excitement throughout the community of the most virtuous and ennobling kind;—it has called forth the most generous sentiments and the most disinterested efforts. All the great principles, a regard for which most elevates the human character, are on the side of my advocates. Truth, justice, humanity, and that which they never fail to accompany—liberty, are marshalled in the same ranks against falsehood, cruelty, and oppression. The best principles of human nature are conflicting against the worst; it is not a mixed question, in which there is any obscurcation of the wrong, or any ambiguity with respect to the right: it is not a question of casuistry, which may confound the simple and puzzle the



wise: it is a case of individual oppression, in which power is labouring to trample upon right: hence all the moral sentiments of the people are on the side of the Queen. The Almighty has, from the foundation of the world, issued his prohibition against injustice, and he has inscribed it in very legible characters on the human heart.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE VILLAGE OF CRIEFF, IN THE COUNTY OF PERTH.

The inhabitants of the village of Crieff, in the county of Perth, are entitled to my cordial thanks for this loyal and affectionate address.

All the *ex-post facto* laws are so unjust in themselves that they have, at all times, been deservedly reprobated. There is no principle upon which they can be supported; and they have usually no other origin than the desire of individual oppression. They are laws made not even for a particular case that is contemplated, but for a particular case that has actually happened.

One of the necessary adjuncts of a good law is, that it is made before the offence is committed which it designed to punish.—Every good law has a prospective tendency. It must, of course, precede the offence. To punish by a retrospective law, is, in fact, to punish without law; for it is just the same thing to punish without law as to punish by a law which was not made till the offence was perpetrated.

I think that the Bill of Pains

and Penalties has been so universally condemned, and so warmly reprobated, that no party in the state will ever attempt a similar outrage upon the venerable fabric of the constitution.

When my adversaries deprived me of the prayers of the church, they little thought that they were erecting for me a more hallowed sanctuary of supplication in the hearts of the people.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF MIDDLETON, IN LANCASHIRE. ]

I return my unfeigned thanks to the inhabitants of Middleton, in Lancashire, and its vicinity, for this loyal and affectionate address.

My innocence must always be my highest honour and my purest satisfaction; but I know the temper of my adversaries too well to believe that my innocence alone would have constituted my security, if I had not, at the same time, been so enthusiastically greeted by the sympathies of the people, and so energetically supported by the spontaneous efforts of the press. When I landed at Dover, the minions of corruption were seized with a panic, from which they have never since recovered. They were conscious, that while the people were transported with a noble enthusiasm in favour of a persecuted Queen, they would relinquish their dissensions on topics of inferior importance, and would unite with her against their common enemies. The cause of the Queen soon became the cause of the

nation. The nation showed a determination to defend the Queen, because they were convinced that the Queen was animated by a sincere desire to promote the public welfare. The steady support which I have received from the people must ever attach me to their interests; and how can I ever separate their interests from those of liberty?

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FROM THE FREEHOLDERS AND WEAVERS  
OF EAST COKER, ODCOMBE, AND EAST  
CHINNOCK, PARISHES ADJACENT TO  
THE TOWN OF YEOVIL, SOMERSET.

I am much obliged by this loyal and affectionate Address from the Freeholders & Weavers of East Coker, Odcombe, and Chinnock, parishes adjacent to the town of Yeovil, Somerset.

I cannot be insensible to the warm affection and the animating sympathy of which, under the direction of Providence, I have become the object, in all parts of the kingdom. I am, at the same time, conscious that I have done nothing to merit so many tributes of the people's loves. My circumstances do not permit me to be a benefactor to the country in any other way than by boldly vindicating my own rights, and those of the people, against the arbitrary encroachments of our common enemy. If despotic power be the greatest of human calamities, to check its inroads or to repel its aggressions, is so far to strengthen individual security and to promote the public weal.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF LANARK.

I gratefully accept this loyal

and affectionate address from the inhabitants of the loyal borough of Lanark and its vicinity.

I must ever revere the names of those whose intrepid exertions have rescued the country from the yoke of servitude: these are the men who, if any, merit the gratitude of posterity; these are they who transmit the most valuable inheritance, not only to their children but to the whole community—the inheritance of liberty. The inhabitants of Lanark, who are perpetually beholding the scenery in which many of the gallant exploits of Wallace were performed, must imbibe those generous sentiments which such associations naturally inspire. This address shows that the spirit of liberty has caught their affections and is glowing in their hearts.

Religious liberty must ever go hand-in-hand with political. Where tyranny exists, it will be perpetually borrowing, or attempting to borrow, aid from the mysterious trickeries of superstition. The free circulation of sentiment on religious topics will, of itself, produce that independence of mind which is highly favourable to the interests of civil liberty.

The Scots paid dear for their religious liberty—they purchased it at the expense of the most grievous sufferings. They must well know the value of that for which their ancestors paid so high a price; they must be well aware that the slavery of the body followed the slavery of the mind; and that in the present state of man it is the liberty of the Press which best secures the



free circulation of opinions, and is, consequently, the best friend to intellectual and personal, to civil and religious liberty.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF MARGATE.

I feel much pleasure in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the Inhabitants of Margate.

I trust that the present conspiracy against my honour and my rights will, indeed, be the last. So large a portion of my life has been infested with the inquietudes which this conspiracy has occasioned, that I cannot, I trust, be deemed presumptuous in hoping that this effort of malignity will be the last that I am doomed to experience on this side of the grave. But, if the present conspiracy be the last, it will not be because my adversaries have relented in their vengeance, or softened in their rancour—because they have been changed from persecutors, or civilized into Christianity—but because the people of England have united in my defence with so much ardour of zeal, so much constancy of attachment, and so much intrepidity of resolution. My enemies must, at length, be impressed with this conviction, that they cannot degrade the Queen without enslaving the people.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF HUNTINGDON.

I have felt an unfeigned satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the inhabitants of the Borough of Huntingdon.

My enemies have long covered their tyrannical projects, and their selfish views, under the plausible pretext of religion. The word itself has stood them in great stead; though with them it has been nothing but a word. It has served as a mask for every species of iniquity, for, what act of cruelty and oppression is there, which it has not been invoked to justify? But the age of vague phrases is passed! Mankind have begun to know the true meaning of words, and are no longer to be cheated by a sound. They know that the better part of religion is charity; and that it was contrary to every feeling of charity to omit my name in the prayers of the Church. This single act has done more to make the hierarchy despised and the Church deserted, than a thousand infidel publications. It has shown the stuff of which the hierarchy is made, and that the knee of submission is bent to Caesar in cases in which God only ought to be obeyed.

The press has lent me its most strenuous aid in the conflict of my enemies. It has been at once my spear and my shield. It has been my instrument of attack and of defence. It has been my safeguard as well as that of the constitution.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF BEVERLEY, IN THE COUNTY OF YORK.

I cordially thank the inhabitants of the Borough of Beverley, for this loyal and affectionate address.

The national character cannot

receive any taint from the conduct of my enemies. For base, unjust, and barbarous, as that conduct has been, it has not been approved by the nation. The nation have raised their voice against it from one end of the kingdom to the other. It has been condemned by almost every individual in the middle ranks, of both sexes, and of all ages. The proceedings of my enemies have received the applauses of none but the most corrupt part of the community.

This illegal and unconstitutional measure must lower the judicial character of the country in the estimate of the good and wise, not only in this, but in every country in Europe. No impression can be more fatal to the reverence in which the judicial character ought to be held, than the opinion that the persons by whom it is exercised are the instruments of malevolence, or the menials of power; that they are the compliant creatures of sordid interest, or of mercenary expectation.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF WEST  
HAM, IN THE COUNTY OF ESSEX.

The inhabitants of the parish of West Ham, in the County of Essex, are requested to accept my unfeigned thanks for this loyal and affectionate address.

A large part of the history of mankind is only a sad recital of crimes. But of all the crimes in history that have individual malignity for their origin, or individual suffering for their end, not one can be produced which

can exceed, if it can parallel, the present conspiracy, in the impurity of its motives, the barbarity of its means, the villainy of its agents, the multiplicity of its artifices, the refinements of its cruelties, combined with the length of time during which it has existed, and the unceasing eagerness with which it has been prosecuted.

The people of this country have acquired such a hold on my affections, and such a claim on my gratitude, by the generous ardor and the enthusiastic attachment with which they have supported me in such arduous trials, and against such an overwhelming foe, that I must consider my rights as their rights, their interests as my interests, and even their wishes as my own.

I have expressed no sentiment in favour of civil and religious liberty of which I have not been deeply convinced of the truth, and feelingly conscious of its importance. My heart is, and I trust ever will be, warmly interested in promoting the welfare of this country; but I should not only be untrue to all my former professions, but an enemy even to my species, if I did not most affectionately cherish the principles, and as far as I have power, most zealously promote the interests of civil and religious liberty.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN  
OF KILMARNOCK.

My cordial thanks are due to the inhabitants of the town of



Kilmarnock for this loyal and affectionate address.

Of the faction by whom I was once supported, and afterwards betrayed, I have since experienced the unceasing persecution. It is no excuse for them to say that, in the present attack upon my honour and my rights, they are acting with a sort of involuntary volition, or are mere instruments in gratifying the vengeance of some power that is enveloped in hideous obscurity. The purposes of that malice, which they consent to execute, they make their own. They identify themselves with iniquity, of which they become the instruments. And what honourable mind is there that would, for a moment, consent to be the obsequious tool of a malignant purpose? What virtuous mind would suffer the lure of present emolument to make it the perpetrator of an act which he disapproved? The mildest censure that can be passed upon this faction is, that there is nothing which they would refuse to do for the sake of retaining their places, or gratifying their selfishness.

FROM THE VARIOUS LODGES OF THE  
ORDER OF ODD FELLOWS.

I cordially thank the officers and brothers of the various lodges of the order of Odd Fellows for this loyal and affectionate address.

Loyalty is the unremitting associate, and benevolence the pervading principle of this ancient and estimable fraternity. Their loyalty is a sentiment which, while it implies their

submission to the laws, will not sanction inhumanity or oppression in any of its forms. The officers and brothers of the various lodges of the order of Odd Fellows will not yield their assent to any principles of conduct that are adverse to justice, or in opposition to liberty.

The principle of benevolence was implanted in the breast of man, as the means of perfecting the social union. In proportion as this principle is predominant in any assemblage of persons, the social union must be improved; and if such a principle could be universalized, it would supersede the severity of legal restraint, and the rigours of penal law. The happy effect of this principle, when it pervades small unions, or incorporations of men, is a presage of the blessed results that would ensue, if it were diffused through any large portion of the body politic. What, then, would be the glorious effect if this principle were predominant in the councils of nations?

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE EAST  
BARONY PARISH OF GLASGOW.

I am much obliged to the inhabitants of the East District of the Barony Parish of Glasgow, for this loyal and affectionate address.

Power is at first gradual in its encroachments—it then proceeds with more gigantic strides. The faction that has been so long making successive inroads upon the liberties of the people, has at last dared to insult the honour, and attack the rights even of the Queen;

the rights of the Queen are, at this moment, the last refuge of public liberty; if this faction, which is so hostile to the principles of liberty, shall succeed in accomplishing the degradation of the Queen, what individual is there who will not, hereafter, be liable to the yoke of servitude?

The people have hitherto forgotten their own internal divisions in their profound sympathy with my sufferings;—this is such an amiable trait in the national character, as ought to be perpetually remembered.—Should the union which now so happily prevails amongst the middle and subordinate ranks of the community, not experience any disastrous interruption, the Queen is not only safe, but the cause of the constitution must triumph over that of corruption, and the interests of liberty be established upon a rock.

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FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE VILLAGE OF CHOLSEY, IN BERKSHIRE.

I sincerely thank the inhabitants of the village of Cholsey, in Berkshire, for this loyal and affectionate address.

There is a large mass of morbid matter in the Constitution which has long been operating against the rights of the people and the prosperity of the country. This corrupting influence is, and has, for many years, been in a state of progressive increase, till it has left hardly any sound part in the body politic. The system could not have existed with such an incorporated mass of corruption,

unless the original materials of the Constitution had been of the most solid and durable kind. The Trial by Jury, and the Liberty of the Press, are two parts of the fabric that have most powerfully contributed to preserve the rest. If these were taken away, the liberty we should have left would be so small as to be an invisible quantity: tyranny would be predominant: it is now of sufficiently alarming dimensions, but it would then rise into a gigantic magnitude, beneath which the people must crouch as humble menials or obsequious slaves.

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FROM THE CLERKS IN THE PROFESSION OF THE LAW.

I return my unfeigned thanks to the clerks in the profession of the law, residing in the Metropolis, for this loyal and affectionate address.

The better the laws of this country are understood, the more clearly must it be perceived that, in the measure which is still pending in the House of Lords, they have been flagrantly violated in order to deprive me of my matrimonial rights, and my constitutional title and dignity.

Laws are made to be observed; and, in a limited monarchy, the observance of the law is as obligatory on the monarch as on the most humble of his subjects. Where obedience is required, the law knows no partialities; it makes no distinction between high and low—between rich and poor; all are alike in the law. That equality, which can never be realized in



the circumstances of life, is no chimerical supposition with respect to that submission to the laws, which is binding on every member of the state.

If any individual were to go into a court, and, as a preliminary to the prosecution of his suit, desire that all the laws which make against his cause should be set aside, we should deem his insolence an approximation to insanity. But yet my adversaries have not only made this demand; but, strange to tell, it has been admitted in the court in which it has been made!!!

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FROM THE MALE AND FEMALE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF PORTSMOUTH AND THE ISLAND OF PORTSEA.

I have much gratification in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the male and female inhabitants of the town of Portsmouth and the island of Portsea.

The maritime prosperity of Britain has always been dear to my heart. I have exulted in reading the triumphs of this great naval country upon the ocean. I have deeply sympathized with that pride which Britons feel when they talk of a Jervis, a Nelson, or a Duncan.

My fondness for maritime affairs, and my predilection for the honest virtues of the sons of the ocean, have induced me, at a former period of my life, to breed up many young men for the naval service. I am con-

vinced that Britain must decline in the scale of national greatness, in proportion as she loses her naval pre-eminence. But the people of England ought never to forget that the power of the British navy is greatly dependent on the prosperity of British commerce; and that this commerce itself is infinitely connected with the interests of liberty. Commerce will not long remain in that country from which liberty has vanished. A nation of slaves can never be great either in commerce or in arts. In proportion as Britain loses her liberty, her commerce will decline; her naval strength will be diminished; and her former glory will become gradually extinct.

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FROM THE EIGHT INCORPORATED TRADES OF THE CITY OF PERTH.

I have great satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the Convener, Deacons, and members of the eight incorporated trades of the city of Perth, in the Convener's court assembled.

The indignities which I experienced when abroad were excrescences from that great trunk of conspiracy against my honour and my rights which has taken such deep root in this country, and has spread its branches far and wide over the continent. The nation has been insulted in the person of the Queen; nor ought it to be forgotten that a minister of the Pope dared, in an official instru-

ment, to deprive the Queen of England of that appellation to which she is lawfully entitled. There have been times when such an insult would not have been suffered by any Ministry; and, when, if it had been endured by the Ministry, that Ministry would not have been endured by the people.

The malice of my enemies has done its worst, and the day of

moral retribution is at hand. Injustice and falsehood may flourish for a season; but it can be only for a season. That season will soon pass away; and he who seeks them where they were once seen, soon finds that they are to be seen no more! The ways of Providence are not as our ways! but they are always in favour of moral rectitude in their ultimate results.